2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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visits or on special occasions. In the central kingdom, where an important man's sisters often married in the village and stayed there, it was evident that they often exercised authority over their brother's children.

In polygynous Ngoni families the relationship between siblings was marked by strong attachment. Among the boys in the *laweni* brothers united to protect their younger brothers from other boys, and in the families of Swazi clans brothers showed many signs of youthful intolerance and arrogance towards boys of other clans, especially in matters concerning cattle and their herding. Sibling rivalry among boys was to a large extent controlled by two factors. One was the *laweni* system where the age-set principle predominated. The other was the division into the big house and *gogo* house, where the children of the *gogo* house knew that they stood in a different relationship to succession and authority in the village from their brothers and sisters in the big house. Within the big house itself, sons of the big wife knew that succession was regulated by seniority, and that the eldest son would expect to get priority when he married and it was necessary to allot cattle for *lobola*. The brother-sister link between children of the same mother was, as we have seen, a very close one, especially with the older sister of a man who was heir to a high position. This sister in her relation to his children carried almost the same authority as he did. Among sisters of the same family there was less apparent cohesion, except among very high-ranking Swazi clans where the girl children were looked after by special nursemaids and had their instruction in correct behaviour together from the older woman known as their *gogo*.

Ngoni grandparents on the paternal side showed little of the joking relationship with their grandchildren sometimes associated with this tie. When children went to visit their maternal grandparents in another village there was noticeably more ease between them and more indulgence was shown. In their father's village children were always aware that his parents were persons of standing and authority. Girls over six or seven often slept in their paternal grandmother's hut if she was a widow, and were aware that, though she showed kindliness in providing for their needs, she was a firm disciplinarian in all matters of behaviour.

Within the family group the male role of leadership was unquestioned. Honour and respect were a man's due from wives as well as from children. In difficult relations within his family, as in the case of divorce, he could count on counsel and support from his brothers, who were also ready to help him if cattle were needed for his own or his son's marriage or for payment of court penalties. This male circle of father and sons, father's brothers and their sons, was a closely knit group which functioned in regulating family affairs and in buying and selling cattle for the house to which they belonged. An obligation to help his sons was recognized by the father of a family and this obligation

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small bitter thorn apple and mixing in castor oil. This was applied with a feather to the baby's navel.

When the cord dropped the baby's head was shaved, and the mother shaved a little hair round her temples. Then they washed carefully, using sweet-smelling soapy leaves, oiled the baby's skin, put on clean clothes, and came out of the hut door and sat on a clean mat outside. This first public coming out of the hut took place in the late afternoon, so that the men, after their work was finished, could come to 'salute the new stranger'. The husband and his brothers were the first to come, and this was the first time he had seen the baby. They brought small presents such as a fowl or a basket of flour, and always strings of beads which were tied round the baby's wrists and ankles, neck and waist. The word used for these little gifts was 'to give a present just for pleasing', and Ngoni Christians when speaking of such presents to new babies likened them to the gifts brought by the Magi to the infant Christ.

While the husband and his immediate kinsmen came to greet the baby at the hut door, the senior men of the village stayed by the gate of the kraal. After the cattle had come back that evening and the kraal gates were shut, the grandmother carried the baby to the gate and presented him to the senior men who responded by giving small presents to the child. This was always done if the baby was a boy, but sometimes omitted for girls.

When small children seeing the new baby on its mother's lap asked where it came from, they were always told that the mother had found it by the river in the rushes on the bank. The object of this reply, so Ngoni women said, was to hide the secret of birth from the children and stop them asking further questions. The Ngoni culture pattern of childhood innocence required that children should be kept in ignorance of birth and sexual intercourse while they were young. By adults therefore they were put off with stories of finding the baby on the river bank. As usual, however, in

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854 house was still killed and eaten. The cloth came out of the
[432] store of cloth bought when cattle were sold, and kept in the hut of the senior woman of the father's house.

Visit to the mother's home

593 If, as was always the case in earlier days, the mother of the
574 new baby had come from a distant village, she did not see her own mother or her relatives, and they did not see the child until it was several weeks old, and considered by the senior women strong enough to undertake a journey. Then a visit involving much ceremony took place, for the wife's
[606] mother-in-law headed the party. The stiff and formal relations between the two sets of 'in-laws' had been eased slightly through the series of feasts and exchanges which preceded and followed the marriage ceremony. Face-to-face
[571] intercourse was, however, still very formal between the two families, and this first visit with the grandchild was in one sense an act of condescension on the part of the husband's family, since the child belonged to them. It was also a human and natural recognition of the eagerness of the young mother to see her own mother and display her child. Word was sent in advance by a messenger from the husband's village to announce the visit, so that the wife's family could make due preparation.

The main object of this visit was, in the Ngoni phrase, 'to show the child at its mother's home'. The young mother and
[606] baby, with her mother-in-law in the place of honour, sat outside the big house of the girl's father's family. Her father
[431] and his male relatives came to salute the child and to give it
[603] presents of beads, and in modern times small gifts of money as well. If the girl's father owned many cattle, he killed a beast, and they feasted that night, and the visitors carried home meat with them as well as the presents to the child. It was all very formal and correct, except when the young mother escaped for a short time to the circle of her sisters and girlhood friends, and exchanged confidences with them.

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862 other compounds, so that the child should not 'see the mother's breasts and cry for them'. Nevertheless they did cry, some of them day and night at first, and many for weeks at night when the indulgent warmth of the mother on her mat was exchanged for the kindly but somewhat stern care [603] of the grandmother or another older woman. Paternal grandmothers did not believe in spoiling Ngoni children, and the child was often left to cry itself to sleep.

593 The Ngoni used to say: 'On the day when a child was weaned, all the village knew. It was not a secret. People 862 spoke about it to show that the parents were now free to have another child.' The mother-in-law and the other senior 606 women of the father's family took the initiative as well as assuming responsibility for deciding the moment for weaning. Those same senior women who had assisted at the birth of the child arrived one morning on the veranda of the mother's hut and announced, 'We want to wean this child.' Apparently the mother was sometimes capable of refusing to co-operate. She did not want to give up suckling the child, so she picked it up and ran out of the hut past the women, and hid herself and her child with some of her friends. The senior women did not stoop to argument. They formed into a procession and filed out of the compound saying, 'Well, she has refused. She can now find the proper time herself, with her husband.' The young mother, who had yielded to a sudden impulse, found herself on reflection in great difficulty. It was considered a 'shame' for her to do the weaning herself, and her husband was jeered at by his brothers and friends for having a rebellious wife who did not pay attention to the claims of his family on the child.

862 So when the senior women announced that they had come to do the weaning, most young mothers meekly submitted, whatever their personal sentiments were. The senior women pounded chillies and put the hot paste on the mother's breasts, and held the child near enough to smell the chillies, even to touch them. They said to the child, 'Leave it alone.

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863 of dust, and many of them began to suffer from sores, itch and sore eyes. The girls however, had already begun to like a clean and shining skin for the sake of being beautiful, and their ablutions were no longer under duress.

The smallest children urinated and defecated wherever they happened to be. From the age of three or four, however, they were taught to tell someone if they wanted to defecate, and taken outside the hut. Maize cobs or soft leaves or grass were used to clean the child, and then thrown on the fire. When the child began to look after himself, he was shown how to use the left hand only when cleaning himself, [826] and told it was 'the hand of shame, only used for bad things'. From the age of four or five small girls and boys went with [514] their mothers and the other women to the section of the surrounding bush reserved for the women's toilet. At about the same age boys and girls were taught to withdraw from the public gaze when urinating, and to conceal themselves behind a hut or in some other hiding-place. The Ngoni were [514] [834] extremely prudish about all physical acts connected with evacuating or sex, and began to demand correct behaviour from children at an early age.

757 If a child was constipated, or had diarrhoea, or was vomiting, or had a fever or stomach-ache, the nurse girl reported 603 it to his mother who went to tell the child's paternal grandmother. For all the range of usual childish ailments the grandmother prescribed and carried out standard treatments, such as whey used as a purgative, or very thin gruel to check diarrhoea. The Ngoni women had a number of herbal remedies which they used for themselves and their children. They also used hot poultices, cupping, and forms of massage. Only when the known household remedies failed, did the grandmother tell the child's father and he, as we have seen, took the responsibility for calling in 'specialists'.

867 Sleep, the little child's third major need, was sometimes well ordered and sometimes erratic. It was not considered 864 proper for children to sleep in the same hut as their parents

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upbringing, they would be unwilling to consider an alliance if the girl's mother were known to be a doubtful character or a careless housewife. The girl's prospects in marriage depended not only on her own reputation and character, but on the household milieu in which she was known to have grown up.

The Ngoni girls in this circle were not only an exclusive group. They were a carefully guarded and protected one. The surveillance of the grandmother, as the woman head of the girl's father's house, was dominant. Besides watching to see if the girl's home was proving a satisfactory training ground, she chose a 'companion' or 'attendant' for the girl, to take the place of the nurse girl. She was a little older than the Ngoni girl, but near enough in age to enjoy and enter into all her occupations and amusements. This companion, chosen from among the helpers in the grandmother's household, grew up with the Ngoni girl, waited on her to some extent, went everywhere with her, slept in the same hut and ate in the same household.

In her daily life in the village an Ngoni girl had in her circle all those whom she called 'sisters' and their companions. There was one exception to the exclusiveness of this group, and that was the school. Many Ngoni fathers who decided that school was a good thing for their boys, decided that it would also be wise to send their girls to school, especially if they showed signs of exceptional ability and leadership. This was sometimes carried through in the teeth of opposition from the grandmother, but the father usually won the day. For Ngoni girls school was an escape from the relative dullness and monotony of compound life, as also from the continual surveillance which became stricter as they grew older and entered the immature girls' group. The Ngoni girls enjoyed mixing with boys, being taught by men, learning to read and write, hearing Bible stories. The daughters of Ngoni chiefs and heads of leading clans were easily distinguishable in the schools by their controlled and dignified behaviour in class and in the playground. They were not

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made with the approval of the dead man's kin. Although by this arrangement the woman was for a while removed from her allotted place in the system, the *status quo ante* was restored with the return of the children to their pater's kinsmen.

8. Segmentation

The primary cleavage among a man's children was between the children of one band and the children of another. Within a band, the division was into separate 'houses'. Where there were children of more than one mother in the same 'house', that is where the senior wife as well as the linked wife had borne children or where there was more than one fertile linked co-wife with the same senior, the division was between the groups of full siblings. These lines of cleavage were expressed spatially by the arrangements of the huts belonging to each segment. At the top of the political hierarchy, the arrangement of the Paramount Chief's queens determined the major divisions into which the nation was split residentially, with a senior queen in charge of each major royal village, and lesser queens in charge of politically dependent royal villages. At the bottom, the man with two or three wives saw his sons group themselves round their mothers while retaining a common allegience to him.

Thus we see that in 'the time of peace' marriage was tied to a clear-cut residential system based on patrilineal descent and virilocal residence, modified by political status deriving ultimately from the Paramount Chief. The position of males in this system was determinate, although not unalterable. By the processes of marriage males were supplied with legitimate offspring. Although descent and succession were traced through males, the pattern of segmentation of this patrilineal system was determined by the organization of wives. The relative status of co-wives was perpetuated in the relationship between the segments which sprang from them.

In this system the elementary family of man, wife, and children did not emerge as an important grouping. In all serious enterprises a person derived support from his male agnates, and it was to the organized kin that the fertility of the woman was transferred by the payment of bridewealth. By the time a man had advanced in status sufficiently to be head of a division or a village, he had acquired many dependants who were not true kinsmen and his wives had been divided into bands. With the recently captured families, these considerations did not apply with quite the same force, for there were many poor men who had only one wife. These people depended on their political superior for cattle, and the women were to some extent under the control of his great wife, in so far as agricultural work and beer brewing were concerned. Even the rearing of children once they had been weaned was carried on outside the elementary family. Children were sent to their grandmother's house to be trained and indoctrinated with Ngoni values. The recent captives

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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her by her parents, but the general rule is that people seek their own partners. Certain rules have to be considered by whoever is trying to arrange the match. These determine which marriages are regarded as incestuous, and which marriages are preferred. The kinship relationship, age, ethnic group, and religion of the partner all have to be considered. With the passing of the regimental system, considerations of State no longer affect choice of marriage partner, except for near relatives of the chiefs.

A man may not marry anyone whom he addresses with a kinship term belonging to the first ascending or the first descending generation. This prohibits marriage between ego and his *mothers, fathers, mothers, brothers, affines,* and *children.*[1] In his own generation he cannot marry his *child's parents-in-law* and he cannot marry any *sibling* who is not a *cross-cousin.* In the second ascending and descending generation a man may address his female *grandparent* and his female *grandchild* as *wife,* and he can, to a slight extent, joke and refer in general terms to sexual activities in their presence. But Ngoni regard it as a typical Cewa custom for a man actually to marry his female *grandchild,* and do not approve of such marriages among their own people. A man may fondle the breasts of his grandmother and suggest in the company of others at a beer drink that his granddaughter should marry him, but that is as far as this joking goes.

A man is entitled, and to some extent expected, to flirt with his female *cross-cousins.* We have noted above that the Nguni peoples from whom the leaders of the Ngoni kingdom were drawn did not allow cross-cousin marriage. By contrast the Cewa and Wisa peoples, who were captured in large numbers from about 1870 on, came from societies in which local organization was based on bilateral intra-village cross-cousin marriage. In villages where there are now many people claiming Cewa and Wisa descent there are many instances of cross-cousin marriage. This form of marriage is by no means confined to people of low ethnic status, and even the Paramount Chief has married classificatory cross-cousins. In the aristocratic families it is sometimes suggested that an important man might marry a cross-cousin while still young and unable to muster a large marriage payment and then later marry an unrelated woman as his great wife. No distinction is made between marriage with father's sister's daughter and with mother's brother's daughter. The somewhat equivocal attitude towards cross-cousin marriage is seen in the conflicting statements of informants about payments in cross-cousin marriages. Some say that no payments ought to be made, for are they not all one family (*banja*). If payments were made it would mean that the family had split. Others say that payments can and ought to be made and that provided the cross-

[1] For the definition of these terms, see Barnes, op. cit. pp. 222 ff

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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583 approval of his father before he offers, and as in the case of Amos and Eve (p. 28), the father may sometimes disapprove. If the man is from another part of the territory or from abroad the parents of
583 the woman, even if they accept the legalization payment, may be
603 reluctant to allow their grandchildren to go a long way away from them to live among their son-in-law's kin. This consideration applies
593 particularly to strangers in the township who marry Ngoni women. When they leave their jobs or retire they try to take their wives and children with them. They may be frustrated in the removal of their children by the woman's parents, who refuse the bridewealth. The courts support the claims of Ngoni grandparents for the retention of their grandchildren under these conditions and a returning Yao or Cipeta man may be forced to travel without his children and sometimes without his wife. I have recorded elsewhere [1] an incident in which a Yao man who had been married to an Ngoni woman for twenty-one years was divorced by her and his offer of bridewealth refused by her parents. The police who check the movements of women and children by bus and lorry away from Fort Jameson are in touch with the Native Courts and may be on the look out if it seems likely that a man from a strange tribe will attempt to smuggle his wife and children away from their Ngoni kin.

581 Thus we see that the kinsfolk are directly concerned with marriage. When the children are still toddlers, they are paired off in fun by their
[858] adult relatives as they sit playing. For a week or month or even longer a woman will laughingly call her neighbour *child's parent-in-law* because their children have been nominated *husband* and *wife* in this way. As a child grows older, so the interest of its relatives in its marriage become clearer. Before marriage the relatives of a
684 girl hold rights in her that are violated if she is seduced and bears
848 a child. It is to them that the girl's lover pays the beast of seduction to recompense them for the wrong he has done by impregnating the girl, but he does not gain custody of the child. On the other hand,
836 no one brings a case against a man merely because he sleeps with an unmarried girl. It is only when she becomes pregnant that an action can be laid against him. A man caught *in flagrante delicto* by one of the unmarried girl's kin can expect abuse and possibly blows but unless he is provocative he need not fear action in the courts. The hostility directed towards him seems to be due in part to his having behaved so indiscreetly as to be caught and having forced the girl's kin to take cognizance of what was happening.

581 At marriage the woman's kin grant rights in her sexual activities
583 to her husband. These rights are unambiguously transferred by the legalization payment, and the woman's kin are therefore in a position to delay or facilitate the tranfser of these rights by their attitude towards the payment. There is no corresponding right in an unmarried man held by his kin, and at marriage there is no corres-

[1] Barnes, op. cit. p. 238

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584 or friends. If the man is away working or in the Army he may make his proposal by letter. When agreement has been reached negotiations can proceed although they are carried on as if there had been no prior agreement and the proposal was entirely a new one.

A man tells his eldest brother of his intention to marry, or, if he is the eldest son, he may approach his father direct. He does not [593] speak to his mother about this matter, for a man does not confide in his mother about anything connected with sex, but she is told [603] of his intention by her husband. A man ought to tell his grandmother at an early stage, particularly the grandmother who reared him. A woman tells her sisters and her grandmother, and her eldest sister will tell her eldest brother. The man's father or eldest brother may decide on who shall act as intermediaries in the matchmaking, or else the man may himself ask important people in the village to act. There is no definite rule as to who they should be, and either men or women or both may make up the party. Usually two or three people go, and a man will try and choose people who are reliable and sober and tactful. Marriage intermediaries do not have the [191] same important responsibilities for the marriage as do the marriage sureties (or witnesses) among the Nyanja and Yao although they are known by the same term.[3] The intermediaries go to the woman's village and consult her senior relatives. Traditionally they should go to the woman's grandmother, either her father's mother or her mother's mother, depending on who lives in the village and who is the more important. They tell her that they have heard that such-and-such a marriage has been contemplated. The girl's grandmother tells the girl's father that the intermediaries have come, and if nothing has arisen to jeopardize the marriage, the visiting party are told that all is well and that they must come back again. They return to their own village, and the next day, or the next week if it is a long way to walk, they go again, bringing with them a gift or sometimes the legalization payment. The gift or money is handed to the [583] person leading the negotiations on the woman's side who passes it on to the woman's father. Arrangements are made about the gall bladder ceremony and a date fixed. The intermediaries then go back to their village.

585 At the gall bladder ceremony the bride receives formal advice [591] from her affines and the people in their village. Shortly afterwards she begins to live with her husband in either his or her village. If they live virilocally she does not at first cook for her husband, but the couple rely on food prepared by his other wives or his mother or [593] grandmother. It may be up to a year later that the woman first cooks for her husband and husband's father, the latter commenting 843 on her cooking. When she first becomes pregnant she is anointed by her husband's grandmother, and goes with a young girl from her husband's kinsfolk to announce her pregnancy to her own kin.

[3] *Nkhoswe.*

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602 the parents of the couple. If the parents are not available other kinsfolk can substitute for them, but in general it is a man's or woman's father who represents the interests of their local group of kin in situations in which these interests are contrasted with those of the spouse's kin. It is the woman's father who receives all the different payments made in marriage, and he is free to keep the payments or to distribute them among his relatives as he thinks fit. If a woman's father is dead or away at work the payments are made to her brother or her father's brother or her mother or some other relative who, in this situation, is prepared to assume the responsibilities that would otherwise be borne by him. Similarly, most men find the money for marriage payments themselves, but if a man is too poor to do this, it is first to his father that he turns for assistance. If, however, his father is dead or poverty-stricken or unwilling to provide the money, he can ask some other relative for help. Here we are dealing with situations in which the father or his substitute
[591] is acting as the representative of the loosely structured local group of kin in situations in which his own children are specifically involved. There are, however, certain specific kinship relations which we can separate out from the general operation of local kinship and which impinge on the marriage relationship. A grandmother has a particular interest in the sexual aspect of marriage. The eldest brother acts as intermediary between a man and his father in the marriage negotiations. Younger brothers are interested in the disposal of widows. Children have rights in the property of a married couple. These are more specific obligations and rights, and while it is possible to find substitutes if the genealogically correct relatives are not there, there is more rigidity in these matters than in those in which the initiative lies with the local group of kinsfolk whoever they may be.

603 We have mentioned that the grandmother who rears a girl may be in charge of her seclusion at puberty (p. 32). Even when some other old woman is in charge, the girl's grandmother has some responsibility for her sexual behaviour. If a man does not sleep with his wife she complains to his grandmother, and although a man is not instructed in sexual matters by his grandmother, he can discuss them more freely with her than with any other kinswoman. Grandmothers sometimes play an important part in the resolution of a marital quarrel in the village, and they often act as midwives. It is a man's grandmother who complains to him if his wife is not bearing children, and it is to her that he may turn for advice about medicines. In the courts, however, grandmothers do not play so important a role. They are women, and important women use their
[592] influence more in village situations than in court, where men are in control and male councillors look to a man's brothers and father for confirmation of evidence.

593 There is considerable formality in the relationship between a man and his own parents and this formality appears to be greater if

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628 in different villages. This distinction between the two groups
602 linked by marriage is symbolised by their spatial separation, and by
581 the existence of 'the man's village' and 'the woman's village', and we have seen how in the story of Daniel and Deborah (p. 82), Daniel wanted Deborah to be warned not in his village but in her own. He wished her own kinsfolk and her own local community to express their condemnation of her conduct, and this could only be done on their own ground. Without their co-operation it would have seemed that it was merely Daniel's relatives who were accusing Deborah, and trying to make trouble for her for no good reason. With the co-operation of her relatives it was possible to pass censure on Deborah with less fear that the marriage might come to an end.

594 It is because the marriage relationship is one which involves other kinsfolk as well as the married couple themselves that the elementary family is not an important grouping in Ngoni society. We have seen that in the old days children left their mother's hut on weaning and went to live with their grandmother or their parents' captor's great wife. A man slept in the same hut as his wife and their unweaned child, but their waking lives were spent with other people. Nowadays the pattern is more variable. Some children stay with their parents until they are old enough to sleep in a dormitory with other children of the same sex. They are fed and clothed by their parents from infancy until they grow up. Yet most old women still gather round themselves groups of three or four grandchildren for whose food and shelter they are responsible. The provision of clothes and school fees is a more difficult thing for an old woman to manage, and for these a child usually turns to its father, if the father is living near. Even the children who live in their parent's hut, however, soon join a play group and spend much of their time away from their parents. Other boys and girls who are
● [603] sent home from Southern Rhodesia may have to rely entirely on their grandparents for clothes if their parents do not send money for them. A man who is richer than his neighbours, particularly
[556] if his riches are in money rather than in cattle, is entreated by his relatives to buy them clothes and other necessities, and he may make himself responsible for the clothing of his siblings' children.

Financially, then, the elementary family is a more distinct grouping than in the days when the only form of wealth was cattle, controlled by the heads of segments. But even financially it is not yet a very clear cut grouping and the same is true in other fields of activity. A man and his wife work together in their garden, and they and their children live on its produce, more or less. On the other hand, at the beginning of a marriage they may be dependent on the parents of one or the other for their food and may pool their resources with them. Many meals are taken in common in the village, a group of neighbours cooking for each other in turn and feeding themselves and their children and grandchildren from the same dishes. In court, a woman looks for support to her own kinsfolk

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Grandparents

603 Children on weaning are often sent to their grandmothers to be brought up. The payments made in the marriage do not seem to influence either the choice of grandmother or whether or not the child stays with its parents. A child is sometimes sent to an old woman not its grandmother but related in some other way who lives in the same or a nearby village and who already has a brood of children to look after. This separation from the parents may occur whether the grandmother lives in the same or in a different village from the parents. Grandparents, and in particular that grandmother by whom a child was brought up, become confidants in later life. It is to her husband's grandparents that a wife complains if her husband does not fulfil his sexual obligations, while it is through the bride's grandparents that the groom should approach her parents when arranging the marriage.

[606] The husband must avoid his wife's mother, but his wife's mother's mother and his wife's father's mother can sit on the same side of the house as he does, as though they were themselves married to him. When he is drunk a man can fondle the breasts of his grandmother, whereas to attempt to do this to his mother would be regarded as shocking.

593 691 578 While it is the grandmothers who intervene in the beginning of a matrimonial quarrel when the dispute is still an affair of the village, it is the parents of the couple, or if the parents are dead or senile the brothers, who will go to court to support them when the dispute has moved to the judicial zone of activity. Women seeking divorce on

[586] grounds of desertion get their fathers to speak in their favour, while the absentee husband, who may be lost in Southern Rhodesia, will be represented by his father or his brother. Occasionally a father may give his support to his daughter-in-law rather than to his son if the son has annoyed his father as well as his wife.

593 571 578 Outsiders cannot intervene in the disputes within a family, although they may be called in to give their support to one side or the other. In particular the family of a man will not themselves take the initiative in bringing an action against his wife, however strongly they may rally to his support in a dispute where the initiative is taken by the wife's people. This principle applies even in cases of incest. For example, a

[684] woman whose husband was away in Southern Rhodesia slept with her father. The husband's brothers wrote to Southern Rhodesia to tell him what was happening, but as in his reply he did not instruct them to take proceedings in the matter, nothing more was done about it.